form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha·ru. 20/152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578/152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana·b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba·s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri·tsa/mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [415] [777]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

of neighborly love in regard to colored people. I was referred to the 648
Bible. I would not have taken their arguments from the Old Testament
[330] seriously, if they had not been presented so seriously and if they
actually had not been used in other places as a guide for their activities.
In the ninth chapter of Genesis Noah damns Ham's son Canaan and his
descendants to slavery. The Boers have extended this curse to all
Hamites and include the Hottentot in this category, looking upon him
as a born slave. Who is now the lord whom God has placed over them?
What the people of Israel were in the old covenant, Christ is in the new.
In the seventh chapter of the fifth book of Deuteronomy the extermination
of the Canaanites is ordered. So God has placed the Christian Boer as
the heir of Israel as lord over life and death of the cursed descendants of
Canaan down to the last generation (the natives of South Africa). The
Boer clings to this interpretation the more narrow-minded he is and the
greater his racial pride is. This kind of gospel is a cover for the more
liberal-minded that reveals most clearly what it is supposed to hide:
the unbounded egoism of the Boers, that left the Hottentot no alternative
than relentlessly to pursue a slow war to the death. Whoever had the
upper hand in such a situation acted and still acts where the power of
law is inadequate according to this concept.

c) The Hottentot entered a diametrically opposite relationship with 797
another class of white men, the representatives of the Christian missions,
which are maintained today in Great Namaland by the representatives of
the Rhenish missionary society of Barmen. Whoever reads the older re-
ports of this society can measure the difference between the present day
Nama-Mission and the one of fifty years ago. At that time service
among the Hottentots in this country without any government, where
there were many battles among the natives, was a sacrifice of the first
rank. Without any government protection the missionary threw himself
on the mercy of the people, following the restless tribes on their migra-
tions and sharing hunger and thirst with them. In order to keep in closest
touch with the people, the missionary did not even shy away from mar-
riage with a native girl. Gradually the opening up of the land led to the
establishment of permanent mission stations. The protection of the gov-
ernment gave new guarantees to life and property and today the mission
houses are the best and prettiest buildings in the country thanks to the
excellent trade schools of the missionaries. They are places not only of
work but also of comfort and, as I would like to emphasize with honest
gratitude, show the traveler friendly hospitality. [331] The swing towards

the better in the material conditions of life at the mission has certainly 797
contributed not a little to the solidifying of their prestige among the Hottentots. But even aside from this the Hottentot has a great measure of reverence and (when he does not have to fear shocking pious feelings) trust for the missionary in the knowledge that he has in him the best representative of his spiritual and bodily interest.

Only a blind enemy of the mission would fail to recognize the meaning of this bridge which Christianity has built for the peaceful understanding of two heterogenous yet interdependent human races and its importance for the cultural development of the country. But it is also as clear as day that the mission will become the curse of the land when it loses sight of the political or economic good of the country in a one-sided pursuit of clerical and hierarchical aims. For the most part this well-being depends on the extent to which the struggle of the various interests of the native and of the invading races can be peacefully regulated in proportion to the economic contributions of the competitors. This is a truth that is often ignored both by the humanistic utopian as well as by the apostle of power. It is necessary to picture the disasters of the native labor question in the Cape Colony in order to understand how economical it is to be able to combine one's interests with those of the native (even if it is only the despised Hottentot). The first condition is naturally an exact knowledge of the necessities of life and the ideas of the natives. As long as it is only the missionaries (with a few exceptions), who find it worthwhile to establish this contact on the basis of thorough studies, just so long the mission will have a high secular trump in its hand. It has played it successfully during the eighties in the Herero country and in Namaland, by disabling English influence in favor of German. (75)

75. C. v. François, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi, Berlin, 1899.

How do matters stand in spiritual affairs? Can the mission be satisfied with the successes in the Christianization of the Hottentots?

Older missionaries with whom I spoke gave a negative answer. The work of nearly a century should have ripened other fruit. To what extent a Hottentot is able to accept the spirit of Christianity so that it determines not only what he does not do but also what he does, could best be judged by an unprejudiced missionary. My own [332] rather sad experiences in this area have been confirmed too frequently for me to believe them to

be unfavorable and happenstance judgments which biased my general opinion. Although I generally mixed with those Hottentots who did not belong to the elite of the missions, I also avoided the lowest level which would have readily given me good reasons for the most pessimistic judgment. 797

Not the least part of the average Hottentot's judgment of Christianity is that it is an advantageous attribute of the white man. Just as he considers himself better in the white man's jacket, trousers and bright coat than his brother or sister in a skin apron, so he also sees his membership in the Christian church as a social accomplishment in keeping with the rank of modern Hottentot. This view is usually combined with disdain for the old customs of his people, even when they do not come in conflict with the new religion. One might accept this mutilation of the self if it were only the overzealousness of energetic resolution to elevate oneself to a new level. But the Hottentot is too lazy and also smart enough to see clearly the contradiction of Christian theory and practice in the social and private life of the white man (cf. folk tale XXVIII), to set himself different ethical ideals than those from the heathen era that at best still serve as the social norms of his own people: loving one's neighbor which for the Hottentot means reciprocal help, respect for age, restraint in regard to the property of others (if only in regard to that of other tribal members), these are all autochthonous commandments that coincide with those of Christianity.

The folk tales and the other imaginings of the Hottentots had perhaps so little in common with Christianity that the two could not be organically joined, as germanic heathen traditions were to Christianity. The moral principles and rules of conduct of the Hottentots that we have learned about are rooted in the tradition of folk customs. The loss of these folk principles along with the complete revolution in the economic basis of their existence since the dominance of the white man has left the Hottentots ethically ruined. Such destruction cannot be repaired with a Bible, catechism, hymnal, attendance at church, Sunday school, holy communion and classes in reading, writing and singing. That attempts have been made to reach such a goal by these methods, would never be held against the individual missionary who has dedicated his life to these people. [333] The harm lies in the system. Only he may bear the name of the Founder, whose whole life was a single great self-sacrifice, who is at least capable of the smallest sacrifice in the service of his fellow man, namely, of work, even though it be only for

himself and his family. In this sense few Hottentots have become Christians. The systematic education of the natives for work has been demanded often enough for economic reasons. But this seems to me to be an unavoidable religious requirement of the Christian mission. Work represents in Namaland, as in every colony, the only possibility that the native has to hold his head economically above the tide of the inrushing cultural stream. And experience has shown further that a primitive people that is economically demoralized is also morally demoralized because it is for sale for any service to the superior race for its own livelihood. Thus the requirement that the native be taught to work does not seem to the missionary a secularization of his duties but only points a way to a firm basis for his religious duties. Moreover the white population is more grateful for a Christian trained for work than for ninety-nine candidates for heaven that know the Bible well but don't want to work.

Whether it would prove successful to appoint a special official for native affairs according to the English model, whether such an official could work together with the mission in the execution of his duties towards a systematic training of the natives for work and towards an organized employment bureau and labor welfare, must be determined by a trial, if possible before the English employers have drawn our best workers away from us across the border. Then we will also see whether the Protestant or the Catholic mission is more vital in this area. In the future this decision may have consequences far beyond the bounds of the missions.

d) The relationship of the Hottentot to his German master. The Hottentot learns our language quickly, at least to understand it. He observes foreigners carefully and has the sense to hide his opinion. In all three points he differs to his advantage from the majority of our people. It cannot be held against the settler and the merchant that they show no interest in the difficult language. That an official can triple his influence over the natives when he masters their language is an old saw, but one would have run into enormous [334] difficulties applying the moral to the Hottentot language if one had ever thought of applying it at all.

There is usually only contempt felt for the Hottentots' language because of its clicking sounds. That can be harmless enough, but a large part of our countrymen are content with finding only the humorous aspects of the Hottentot and that is more serious. If the hundred little upsets are then added, which no one can avoid who has to depend on natives in his work, then all these feelings combine with the outward impression of a ragged, dirty fellow to a general opinion, which is unconcealed scorn.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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769 This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition
782 of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the
788 corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what
[773] these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

[773] Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

778 All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional
771 religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the
797 great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 721 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished " his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested; which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 178 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The ● [197] Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never
[465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
● 797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk
[824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing. 262

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts. 273 276

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals. 273

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else. 276 272 262

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Lqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the 797 776

797 strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the
776 letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

797 2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the
776 word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit
177 amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil"
171 in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

773 Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but
776 Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

789 If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring
782 it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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177 immigration of the Orlam tribes is also cited as a civilising factor, but it must be remembered that many of the Orlam had already been in close contact with Europeans in the Cape Colony; that some of them could read and write; that many of them had been under the influence of missionaries; that they were already used to European clothing, and above all knew how to use firearms, which gave them a considerable predominance over the old resident tribes.

The first conflict had to take place with the Orlam and terminated in the Orlam tribe of the Afrikaner (who had been called to their help by the chief of the old tribes of the country) gaining the supreme rule and exercising a profound influence which, however, was not always beneficial.

2. The old hunters, representatives of civilised nations, did not indulge in civilising work! By them the rich game supplies were reduced to such an extent that elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, etc., are now looked for in vain in Namaland. In spite of this they did not have to cope with many difficulties among the Nama tribes. On the whole the Nama regarded them as friends. What is more, it was to their temporary advantage to be able to fill their pots without any effort when big game was shot. Then they—children of the moment—never thought of the coming devastation of their hunting areas. For all that it can still be said that the representative of a higher civilisation, no matter how he acts among uncivilised tribes, must be estimated as a civilising factor, even though it be only by virtue of his appearance. He rouses impulses and stimulates the will to strive after a higher civilisation.

The traders of those times often complained of the unfriendly attitude which they experienced on their commercial travels. They brought clothing materials and clothes into the country, the old skin clothes disappeared gradually and the Nama who respected himself went about in European clothes.

Unfortunately they also brought alcohol into the country and supplied the robber-tribes with rifles, lead and gunpowder. As they gave credit to their purchasers the collecting of the heavy debts caused many difficulties and the advice of some unprincipled tradesmen to pay them with cattle robbed from the Herero did not promote peaceful terms with their northern neighbours. In spite of this these commercial travellers should not be forgotten when the civilising influences which have affected the Nama are named.

177 797 3. All praise is due to the Mission for rendering the greatest services to the Nama both as mediator and bearer of civilisation. As early as 1805 the Evangelic Mission started its work at Warmbad among the Bondelswarts who had up to then led a nomadic life, crossing then to the one and then to the other side of the Orange River. In judging the

civilising work of the mission it must be borne in mind that it had to deal with a nomadic tribe, and to make such a tribe amenable to civilisation, means solving the gigantic problem of getting a nomadic tribe to settle down permanently. 177 797

To do so J. H. Schmelen crossed the Orange River in 1815 with his people to settle at the spring in Bethanie; but his first attempt to keep them here did not succeed. To-day, however, Bethanie has its own population and is still a mission station. In 1850 the missionary Knudsen attempted to settle another tribe at Guldbrandsdalen after a good rainy year, but his attempt failed too. But round the spring at Broekkaross the station Berseba was successfully founded where those same people gathered and where their progeny still stays to-day. It was the mission that kept this tribe in Gibeon where it still is to-day.

So, gradually, missionary stations arose all over Namaland. In 1866 Keetmanshoop got a missionary. In 1856 Gobabis was founded. In 1853 the first missionary settled among the Red Nation at Hoachanas. Attempts were also made to bring about a moral way of living among the Afrikaners at Windhoek; but the attempt failed and the tribe was ruined.

The missionary station with its church and school in course of time became the centre of the individual tribes. Times of progress were followed by times of degradation. The nomadic tendency often manifested itself and often the missionary saw his community disappearing in all directions especially in dry years. But they gathered round him again and so his community remained intact. The mission has been reproached because it did not educate the Nama to work, etc.; but people seem to forget that if they are to be educated to work in a European sense, there must be a working potentiality, and these potentialities failed everywhere. Where there were arable ground and water they introduced gardening, but everyone knows how many difficulties gardening involves in South West, especially in dry Namaland.

4. At the right time, just when the tribes had been domiciled to a certain extent by the mission, the occupation of the country by the German Empire set in, and colonisation of the country by white farmers began. The travelling traders became less and less and stores began to be opened in the townships and transport-drivers conveyed goods to far-off places. The Nama had opportunities to work now, but unfortunately had no willingness to work. For the recently settled Nama never had had to work in the European sense and consequently were not accustomed to continual exertion and were averse from it. Nevertheless many of the Nama became expert drivers, achieving surprising things with their 6 metres-long ox-whip; others became herdsmen and others domestic servants of the whites. The breaking out of the 177

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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751 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes
823 place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The
182 head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Hei /Nûn, and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life

754 The next example is a little different. In the old days, there
756 were among the Naman !Gèi Aogu, witch doctors, men who could
823 cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their [797] training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a gebo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Hei /Nûn, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by /!Gãuab,* or the /Hei /Nûn, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-/!Goam*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1719, p. 438.

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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, " contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical " treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a " bamboes " full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid " trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty " packing up " of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bontas*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller " villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moos* as the scene of his activities. *Moos*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Batsuing Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moos*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Batsuing chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Mackeri* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moos* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-123.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-3; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Masson, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

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For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

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Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[16] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[17] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[18] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

175 619 797

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Bhonas in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[19] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the natives nearly deserted.[20]

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Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[21] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

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Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

16 R. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
17 R. M. R. 1853, p. 80.
18 R. M. R. 1853, p. 81.
19 R. M. R. years 1848-1854.
20 R. M. R. 1850, p. 200
21 R. M. R. 1853, p. 84.

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175 69 648 readily granted.[39] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[40] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[41] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Mackabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[42] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[43]

175 69 648 ● 747 167 Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotas and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[44] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[45] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[39] B. C. p. 290-3.
[40] B. C. p. 257.
[41] B. C. p. 324.
[42] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[43] B. C. p. 323.
[44] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[45] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[89]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[90]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[91] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[92] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Koranas at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[93]

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[89] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-3.
[90] B. C. 213.
[91] B. C. 289.
[92] Anderson, *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[93] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

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During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,[16] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[18] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[19] In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[20]

175 Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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16. Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bewohner*. Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.
17. Imperial Blue Book. C. 2454-'79. p. 33.
18. Ibid, p. 34.
19. Wangemann op. cit. p. 24.

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"Vaderlandsche of Buytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20¼, Lat. 29¼. 133

Wurm, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 293 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Ass (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ǂâi* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *ǂâ'ib* and the reed-dance *ǂâ'ǂ-o/aî-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plettberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy kara" (printer's error for *gwa*, v. *infra*) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matini, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 824 115

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534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *ǂa:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*inaǂa:r ǂaammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*/hare khwedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka koowo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//hara:ha*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 787 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

778 last watering-place, *without first having made an offering* and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him; and I asked him what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisip.

"'Before any Bushman,' said ǂNumeep, 'digs for water at Kuisip, he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the !naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare, as an offering to Toosip, the [779] old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip.

"'No; I have never seen him, nor has anybody else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great ᵐ Redman, with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai, nor has he a wife.'

"'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?'

"'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbock, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 125.)

Here we have the most open-hearted confession of a Namaqua (Khoikhoi) who was in great anxiety. The human heart is always more communicative when in sorrow and troubles, especially among savages, whose manners, like those of children, are still very simple and natural, and not dictated by the rules of an absurd etiquette and fashion.

Heitsi-eibib, Kabib, Heigeib, and ǂGama ǂgorib.

● 797 About the year 1842, the missionary work amongst the Namaquas was commenced more vigorously, chiefly by missionaries of the Rhenish Mission. The Rev. Knudsen has left us a translation of St. Luke, up to this date unsurpassed in style and correctness by any

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

other missionary who attempted [a] the difficult task of 777 translating the Bible into Khoikhoi.

Knudsen, however, changed the Khoikhoi Tsûi-||goab into Elob, taking it from the Hebrew Elohim; while for Devil he left the name of the evil-doer ||Gaûab. The word Elob is now generally used wherever the Gospel is preached in Great Namaqualand, but it has not supplanted yet the old Tsûi-||goab.

Knudsen possessed a great natural talent both for languages and ethnology. To this it is due that he has provided us with some very remarkable legends, which give us a good insight into the religious ideas of the Khoikhoi; and his notes are of great value, not only because they confirm what has been stated by former travellers and missionaries, but because they have been collected amongst Khoikhoi (the ǃAmas, or ǃAmaquas, of the "Cape Records") who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape, from Berg river all along the west coast to the mouth of Olifants river. When Knudsen came amongst them they had [b] left the colony just twenty-seven years. The tribe during that time could hardly have exchanged the old Cape idiom for the Namaqua, as, with very few exceptions, they had not intermarried with Namaqua women.

I am therefore justified in saying, that in the following 773 notes we have some religious relics of the so-called Cape Hottentots. Knudsen's account now runs thus: "Heitsieibib or Kabib was a great and celebrated sorcerer among the Namaqua. He could tell secret things, and prophesy what was to happen afterwards. Once he was travelling with a great number of people, and an enemy pursued them. On arriving at some river he said, 'My grandfather's father, open thyself that I may pass through, and close thyself afterwards.' So it took place as he had said, and they went safely through. Then their enemies tried to pass through the opening also, but when they were in the midst of it, it closed again upon them and they perished."